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ASSEMBLY IN A HUNGRY WORLD

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PREFACE

Dear Friends,

Two years ago when the Youth Department started to think about youth and students participating in the Uppsala Assembly we looked for a general theme which would be the focal point of their concern in Uppsala.

Of course an Assembly of the World Council does many things. It takes the temperature of the ecumenical movement. It reviews the work of the World Council since the last Assembly. It makes decisions on where the churches want the World Council to go. It writes the strategy for relations with non-member churches. It does Bible study. It sings. It prays. Nobody would deny the necessity to do all these things. Among other things an Assembly is a tour d'horizon of what lives in the churches at that particular time.

There are also themes which run across all the items on the agenda: all churches are conscious of rapid social change around them and within them; civil wars and international wars request the attention of those engaged in them and those watching

them from afar; there is the bewilderment of young and old in face of the theological chaos of our time; there is the ecumenical discovery that belonging to a specific confession and a specific denomination makes little sense to many Christians today. None of these cross-currents, however, is of the strength of the theme we have chosen for the pre-Assembly Youth Conference and this issue of RISK: the development apocalypse. Our attention is called to this again and again by the cry of despair of the poor which reaches the rich through the modern means of communication. The whisper of the hungry rips the silence of complacency like a loud scream. Then there is the consensus of the leaders of the world - U Thant, the Pope, Raoul Prebisch. They all tell us that development is the No. 1 problem of our day. The Beirut Conference on World Cooperation for Development stated succinctly that all men are reminded of the story of Cain and Abel. In the voice of the oppressed God speaks to the Church, saying: "Where is your brother"? and "The blood of your brother is calling to me from the earth". Solemn words, these. They are directed to the developed world and to the developing world alike.

So in a sense we have no choice. The quest for development, not only economic but in the full sense of the word, is the central theme of the Uppsala Assembly. For that reason we have asked people to relate the themes of the six Sections to frustrations and hopes on development. It seems to us that the youth participants have to take the side of those who will go through the Uppsala experience with this in mind. They should listen to the platform speakers in that way. They should check their contribution to the discussion in the Sections from that perspective. They should sing with that in mind. While they are having fun in the café chantant they should not forget it. When they go through the experience of meeting people of other cultures and other traditions, development should be the context in which they celebrate their encounters.

The following articles are reminders, not answers. They want to stimulate, not to solve.

Let us think for a moment how our successors will look back at Uppsala, What will they say about us? "They met in a friendly town in a rich country and talked theology"? "They met as Christians recording the unity among themselves"? Or will the historians say: "In Uppsala Christianity rose up for justice and peace"? "As 1948 meant the rediscovery of the essential unity among the churches, '68 meant the rediscovery of the Church as a serving community to a hungry world"? Assemblies write church history whether they are bad or good. The participants <u>make</u> church history. That is, all of us together.

Sincerely, for the Youth Department Albert H. van den Heuvel

THE SACRAMENT OF OUR CONDEMNATION

William H. Crane

"He who sits at the table of the Lord, spiritually and physically sated, while indifferent to the hunger and suffering of his brother, eats and drinks his own condemnation".

That, of course, is a rather free interpretation of 1 Corinthians 11:27-32 and I'm holding my hands over my head to protect myself from the brick-bats that the New Testament experts are bound to throw because I've committed the unforgivable sin of forcing the passage out of its context. But if we are, as the biblical experts tell us we must, to read the Bible and the daily newspaper together, then St. Paul has got to give me some latitude because these are the questions that force themselves on me at the Lord's Table, when I sit down to that table after my 2000 calorie meal in 1968. What can the sacrament of our unity possibly mean in a world in which so many of us participate in, and acquiesce in, economic and political systems that degrade men so completely? What does it mean to share in the sufferings of Christ, and to appropriate the benefits of His sacrifice and victory by grace, while so many of us turn away from the sufferings of so many of those for whom He died and rose again?

Scene 1: Several months ago I was sitting on the terrace of a Hotel in Douala, Cameroun, in the evening having my afterdinner coffee. Almost by magic there appeared on every street corner, and along every main thorough-fare, as well as in the dark alleys of that city, hundreds of young girls soliciting vigorously every man they could see. Some of them were in their early teens. With their heavily painted faces, and mini-skirted forms, they invaded even the hotel terrace and lobby, desperately seeking customers for a quick turn in bed, or furtive intercourse in a dark alley. They were not ordinary prostitutes. I was told. They were girls who would go back to their families, early in the morning, with the meagre earnings of their degrading trade. I thought about the well-worn Protestant platitude that "all work has dignity". This too was work, for they were sent out every evening by their unemployed parents, who had flocked to the famous port city, hoping to find work more fulfilling than back-breaking subsistence farming. Similar scenes can be seen in almost every major city in Africa.

Scene 2: The mushrooming city of Kinshasa, capital of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a city whose population has increased from 350,000 to 1,500,000 in ten years. Ten years ago the twenty kilometers which separated the outskirts of the African townships of Kinshasa from the University of Lovanium and the International Airport of Ndjili, was a vast wasteland of manioc fields and alluvial swamps. Today it is solidtly built up with thousands of huts and tiny houses, built by the hundreds of thousands of migrant villagers who have come from the interior to seek their livelihood in a city whose industry and commerce can only absorb a small fraction of the new comers. They live off the earnings of more affluent relatives, petty trade, or crime. All too many of them are virtually unemployable, lacking the rudiments of education, or professional training, which can qualify them for employment. At night Kinshasa ressembles a huge armed camp, whose inhabitants lock themselves behind barred windows, and double-barred doors. to protect themselves from thieves who work either singly or in highly organized gangs.

Scene 3: Along the main avanue of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, close to the impressive Africa Hall, where the Organisation of African Unity meets, there is a huge compound hidden from public view by a high galvanized iron fence. This is the famous "red light district" of Addis Ababa where thousands of poor peasant women live, in the meanest of circumstances, off their earnings from prostitution. With the severe shortage of housing in the city, and the closure of university hostels to most Ethiopian students, some

students, at least, find their lodgings in this quarter, exchanging their meagre scholarships, or earnings, for bed and board.

Scene 4: Outside the bustling metropolis of Johannesburg stretch as far as the eye can see the drab, box-like houses of the Souwete townships to which thousands of Africans commute every night on trains that are cruelly crowded. These are the only homes that many of them who have been born and raised in the city have ever known; but they are not truly home, for there is no security or tenure in Souwete. All depends upon the capricious tolerance of the "Bantu authorities", who have the power to endorse out of the townships anyone who loses his job, or who does not subserviently accept his position as a second-class citizen, without rights, in a white-dominated society. Here is paternalism in its most demonically institutionalized form, but it is shown to those Western visitors, who are curious enough to ask to see it, as an example of all "the good that the government is doing for the non-whites".

Scene 5: The home in Dar-es-Salaam of the leader of FRELIMO, a liberation movement directed against the repressive Portuguese regime in Mozambique. It is like many other homes in the exclusive suburb of Oyster Bay, with a difference. The difference is that Edouardo and Janet Mondlane, and their family, live as the vulnerable targets of the Portuguese secret police, PIDES, because from here, and from FRELIMO headquarters in town, orders go to thousands of "freedom-fighters" engaged in a bitter war against the Portuguese regime in Mozambique. FRELIMO is a liberation movement noted for its discipline, its rejection of racialism, its humanitarian sensitivity, and its concern for building a just and humane order even while engaged in bitter conflict. But it has few friends and sympathizers in the so-called Christian West, for it is a reminder of the hypocrisy of those who mouth platitudes about justice, equality and dignity for all men, while at the same time rejecting the violence which is indispensable for securing these goals.

Scene 7: Several months ago, with a friend I called upon Joseph Diangienda, the spiritual leader of the Kimbanguist Church, in his home in one of Kinshasa's African townships. The official name of this church is the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth by Simon Kimbangu. Simon Kimbangu was a remarkable catechist of the Baptist Missionary Society in the lower Congo, who, in a vision in 1921, felt himself called to preach a message of reform of the Church to peasant villagers in the Bas-Congo. They were to burn their fetishes, repent their sins, pray fervently, and await the outpouring of the Spirit in power. The fruits of repentance would be a mighty outpouring of the Spirit, accompanied by healing. It was an affirmation of freedom, freedom from the constraints of a missionary-dominated church and a Belgian-controlled government. Simon

Kimbangu was thrown in prison and his followers scattered in exile, where they languished until the late fifties when finally the movement was given official sanction by the Belgian administration. Simon Kimbangu died in prison in 1951, but his bones were carried home in triumph to the ancestral home at Nkamba-Jerusalem, in Bas-Congo in 1960. Under the leadership of his sons, one of whom is Joseph Diangienda, the church has flourished to the point that it claims over 300,000 adherents today. It administers schools and dispensaries, and at least in some places practises conscientiously a form of primitive Christian communalism, the sharing of wealth. It is completely self-supporting and hierarchically structured, granting a broad freedom of initiative to its lay members. But the Kimbanguists are looked upon with suspicion, fear, and even open hostility by Christians of other churches. There are signs that the Kimbanguist church is open to dialogue with other churches, an openness that has not been reciprocated among these churches in Congo.

The Spirit blows where He wills in Africa: through the birth of new nations, through the creation of new regional structures for cooperation, such as the Organisation of African Unity and the All-Africa Conference of Churches, through the resolution of African liberation movements to lead their peoples to freedom and dignity in Southern Africa, through the growth and vitality of African churches (both those born of the fruits of missionary labours and those born of the vision of authentic African prophets), and even through the frustration of the many thousands of Africa's sons and daughters who know that the Spirit of God wills new life for Africa, but who see the powers of death in so many places ascendant.

The early sixties were a time of celebration of the birth of new nations throughout Middle Africa and North Africa. Many of us who where observers of the events bringing these nations to political independence were certain that the hand of God was at work in the demise of colonialism, in the creation of new institutions which could express the will of a people to be free, and in the vision of independent and united African nations working together to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease. It was under this sign of hope and faith in God's acts in history, that representatives of African churches participated, for the first time in significant numbers, in the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches at New Delhi in 1961. The massacre at Sharpeville, South Africa, and chaos in the Congo had done little to dim that hope. There were few so naive as to believe that the problems of racism, economic imperialism, poverty, ignorance, disease and the dearth of trained leadership would yield themselves to easy solutions, but hope was fierce and persistent.

In the late sixties this mood has given place to a mood of pessimism, if not despair, in many places. Eighteen successful coups d'état in eleven states since 1960, and unsuccesful ones in nine others; the collapse of the resistance movement against apartheid in South Africa with the Rivonia trial of 1964; Smith's unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia in 1965; the rate of economic growth in too many states outstripped by the rate of population growth; expanded educational systems pouring out thousands of primary school-leavers, and in some states even secondary-school leavers, with only a fraction of job openings for them; plans for economic diversification, industrialisation, and regional plans for cooperation in trade and development consistently thwarted by the lack of necessary development capital; ethnic loyalties tearing apart the fabric of national unity woven in the struggle for independence; and the poisons of narrow national, class, and individual self-interests corroding the will of the people to make the heroic sacrifices for nation-building that alone can wipe out the endemic ills of poverty, ignorance and disease.

The sources of disillusionment do not lie alone in the failure of African leaders and their peoples. In the early sixties African leaders, together with many millions of common people, still nourished a faith in the will of powerful nations of the North to work with them in a concerted, effective way to tackle the unsolved problems facing the new nations. This they believed was simply a matter of justice, a small recompense for the years of exploitation and injustice perpetrated against Africa. It was hoped that these nations would make available, not only substantial resources in personnel and money for development, but that they would also revise the economic and political policies which made mockery of political sovereignty, and condemned the new nations to a situation of economic subservience in world trade.

This faith has not been justified. The eight billion dollars in aid to the South contributed every year by the North (including the Soviet Union) are overshadowed by the 140 billion dollars that the nations of the North spend on their own defense. And most aid is given unilaterally out of motives which favor the political and economic interests of the donor nation more than the needs of the recipient nation. The 25 billion dollars being annually spent by the United States to defeat the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam must be seen in the African context against the background of enormous investments of American, and other Western business, in South Africa, where one fourth of the population uses all the powers of the police state to suppress the other three fourths. Africans cannot help but ask, What are the vaunted Christian, and democratic values, which these Western nations are calling African nations to support with them in the struggle for a more just and

humane society? What does even liberal democracy mean when the South is made both the victim, and the battlefield, in the struggle to defend these values, a struggle whose goals are so obscure?

The dogmas of the Cold War are meaningless in the African context, as President Nyerere of Tanzania has repeatedly insisted. And yet the price of aid from the North, in far too many instances, seems to be the readiness of African nations to prostitute their own goals, worked out in the knowledge of the needs of their own peoples, in order to give, at least, lip-service to the values, and economic and political systems, forced upon them by their benefactors. Nations like Tanzania and Zambia have evolved their own national ideologies to implement their understanding of the biblical doctrine that the rich are called to be servants of the poor, and that rich and poor together are called to be responsible caretakers of the national patrimony. But because these ideologies cannot be conveniently classified in the categories familiar to each protagonist in the Cold War they are locked upon with suspicion by would-be investors of capital. To make matters worse, the militance with which nations like Tanzania and Zambia view the struggle for freedom in Southern Africa further alienates them from the sources of aid in their own plans for national development. (It's perfectly right to be opposed to the policies of Vorster, Smith and Salazar, but it is "bad form" to give sanctuary to guerrilla forces who are determined to oppose those policies with violence.')

The mass media of the West use every new incident of unrest in Africa to project a gloomy picture of unrestrained violence, incompetent African leadership, and political immaturity; and the propaganda machines of Vorster, Smith and Salazar use these same events to legitimate their own repressive policies. But a closer look at the facts of power would show that the corruption of power, the immaturity of leadership, and the predisposition of Africans, like many other people in the world, to violence cannot alone explain the instability of so many African political regimes. No sweeping set of generalizations can do justice to every situation of unrest in Africa, for the crisis in each state can be understood only in terms of the particular factors which have produced it. These may be ethnic rivalries, indeological differences, the conflict of powerful personalities, the pressure of trade unions for higher wages, the pressure of unemployment, or the loss of mobility of civil servants or army officers, who have been passed over for promotion because of tribal preference. But, often these are symptoms of a deeper malaise which can be understood only in terms of the failure of governments to satisfy the high expectations of the masses for perceptible changes in their economic and social situations. Economic and political stagnation is not always the sole responsibility of national leaders. (For example, run-away inflation

in Ghana was not uniquely the result of corruption, waste and senseless extravagance practised by the Nkrumah government. The catastrophic drop in the price of cocoa on the world marked certainly had something to do with creating the bad situation which led to Nkrumah's overthrow.)

The expectations for change from the masses cannot be met without a substantial outlay of capital for industrialisation, diversification of the national economy, the creation of stable markets, and the creation of schools, universities and training institutions for training the high-level manpower needed by both public and private sectors. Taxation, in most cases, cannot possibly meet the needs for the kind of capital needed for national development. Most states are caught in a vicious circle of taxation, and spending, which provides only enough revenue to pay the civil service and army, leaving little for development of light industries, the improvement of agriculture, or the building of roads and railroads. Those involved in the agricultural sector can be offered incentives for producing more coffee, cocoa, cotton or sisal for export; but with the system of international price-fixing now in vogue the prices of these commodities fluctuate so badly that peasant farmers cannot see the point of producing more and more, for which they receive less and less in the buying-power of their pound or franc. (The classic example is that of the jeep which could be bought for the equivalent of sixteen bags of coffee in 1956, but which cost thirty-nine bags in 1963.) What does international aid mean when the total aid contributed by France to Cameroun since independence has been more than offset by the drop in the price of cocoa on the world market?

The new cities of Africa are glutted with thousands of people who have abandonned subsistence farming and come to the big city to look for cash wages in an economy that is too weak to employ them. The pressures of these masses for change, for jobs, for better wages, for decent housing, and for a decent standard of living, often met by the first generation of political leaders with cynical indifference, as they used the resources available to build for themselves lavish presidential mansions, and to surround themselves with personal body-guards. To counter this vicious circle of stagnation and corruption, in many cases, the army has stepped in and taken over power, administering the state often with the help of young, apolitical technicians. Necessary as this may be for the maintenance of order and stability, it does not offer, of itself, and permanent solution to the economic, political and social problems of the new nation.

Among other things, there is an urgent need for capital for the creation of new industries, for the improvement and diver-

sification of agriculture, for community development projects in the interior, for raising the standard of living of the village peasants, for building the roads, bridges and railroads that will facilitate trade between states, and between regions of the same state, making them less dependent upon markets in the North. There is the need for an applied science of development, rigorously pursued by experts, for regional and national development banks partly capitalized through international agencies, for development consortiums, regional common markets, research and development institutes for regional development planning, and most of all, a need for the reform of the basic structures of international trade, tariff-fixing and price-fixing.

But as important as are all these needs, the challenge that faces the Church is that of education, an education geared to national development and nation-building. The churches in Africa, as in so many other parts of the world, are psychologically oriented towards the creation of a class-structured society, in which those who benefit from formal education are allowed to constitute themselves a privileged elite in society. The churches' education must be "education for discontent", discontent with a status quo which is indifferent to the needs of those without power, privilege, or dignity in society, discontent with the easy accommodation of the educated Christian to systems which guarantee his own privileges at the expense of others, and discontent with the forces at work in society which rob men of their dignity and worth as men. If the churches in Africa are going to survive as institutions they must be on the side of the dispossessed, the hungry, and the exploited. Most important, the churches have a responsibility for imbuing their own members, and those who go through their schools, with the spirit of unselfish service to their fellow men, and with a willingness to serve wherever there is human need. No permanent changes can take place to make Africa's rural areas more livable as long as educated Christians insist on employment only in the capital cities.

For all this, Africa needs help from the North. Mention has already been made of the need for capital. But, even more important than capital, Africa needs new and convincing models of Christian discipleship within those nations which first brought her the Gospel. There are far too many Christians who give intellectual assent to the doctrine that the rich are called under God to be servants of the poor, and collaborators with the poor in the stewardship of all Creation, but there are far too few convincing models of obedience to this calling. The response of Christian charity, a few dollars given from our superfluity into the collection plate for the mission of the Church, is not only inadequate . . . it is an offense to the community of God's people engaged in the struggle against the

powers of darkness, if all it does for us is to allow us to salve our consciences while we continue to participate uncritically in the injustices of an international order which persistently violates men's dignity and vocation under God. What is needed is a new style of life, a willingness to commit ourselves to the risks of involvement in the revolutionary struggle to change the political, economic and social structures that continue to dehumanize men everywhere. If the only models of discipleship which Christians of the North can provide for their brothers of the South are those of a complacent, self-satisfied community of religious dilettantes wresting the maximum benefits from a consumer-oriented society, while expecting of their brothers in the South the sacrifices, self-denial and suffering which they themselves are unwilling to bear, we should not wonder if Africa's new elite gives up the struggle, accepts a parasitical existence, while justifying itself with, "To hell with it. It's not worth sacrificing our lives, because we can change nothing by ourselves". And let us make no mistake about it, Africa's young, educated leadership is not endowed with any more nobility and selflessness than the rest of us; more and more African students studying abroad find reasons for postponing their return home.

Nor are the churches in Africa any more holy, or any less implicated in the evils of the systems that deny men justice and hope. There are far too many of them who would prostitute themselves, sacrificing their integrity, dignity and their participation in the struggle for unity and freedom, just to keep the dollars and pounds coming from their benefactor mission boards in the North. There are far too many of them using up their energies keeping the institutional machinery, inherited from missionaries, running, while oblivious to the new frontiers of service opening up at their very doorsteps in Africa's cities and industries. There are far too few offering convincing models of the "servant-ministry" to the young, as synods and church assemblies spend their time wrangling over the perquisites of clerical power and position. There are far too many churches in Africa who are blind to the very existence of their brothers in the "independent church movements", obsessed as they are with correct doctrine, traditional ministries. and the meaning of authority, while ignoring the Spirit who blows freely where He wills.

Yes, new models are needed, new evidences of the presence of the "Servant Lord" in a variety of ministries among His people, freeing them to be present and participate in every place where the struggle goes on to free men and restore them to their full humanity under God. The question remains for the ecumenical movement whether the Lord's Supper will become for us, a truly ecumenical experience, the sacrament of our identification in the sufferings of Christ on behalf of the world, and of our commit-

ment to His servant-ministry to the world, or the sacrament of our condemnation.

"Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren you did it to me".

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH IN A HUNGRY WORLD

Dr. Thomas J. Liggett

The mission of the Church arises out of God's love for the world, made known supremely in Jesus Christ, and consists primarily of witnessing to this love. The Church therefore can be said to exist for the world - the real world in which it finds itself from generation to generation and century to century. Its mission must be specifically defined in terms relevant to the contemporary world. One of the foremost dimensions of the modern world is the problem of hunger and the prospect of mass starvation; and the church must define its mission, at least in part, in terms of this reality.

The fact of hunger

The Church is called to face with utter realism the fact of hunger in our world. Christianity's numerical and institutional strength lies largely in the "developed world", primarily in western Europe and North America. Most of these countries have achieved

unprecedented prosperity and affluence in the past fifteen years, and this development militates against the credibility of the facts of human hunger. We can even speak of "pockets of poverty" amidst a basically affluent society. It therefore is difficult for this sector of the Church to realize the magnitude of the problem of human hunger and the ominous trend toward mass starvation. It is imperative that the Church face with honesty and a sense of urgency this fact of hunger. At the present time, several persons die each minute because of hunger and malnutrition. It has been estimated that one out of three children will carry through life the "irreversible effects of food deficiency".

Every index implies that this "bad situation" will get worse - much worse. This is the inevitable conclusion which must be drawn from the present statistics on population growth and food production growth. At the present time, the demographic growth exceeds the growth in production. Thus there is no basis in present realities to assume that an improvement in the overall situation is forthcoming. Projections of demographic growth indicate that the present annual net increase of approximately 66 million will reach an annual net increase of approximately 100 million by 1980. As frightening as such a projection is, it is even more sobering to realize that past projections of population growth have always proved to be too conservative, thus enhancing the ominous prospects. Food production, while steadily increasing in the world, is not increasing at the same rate as the demographic growth - hence the problem of hunger must inevitably become more and more acute.

This fact - the fact of hunger - which looms ever larger on our horizon, must be faced with all seriousness by the Church as it defines its mission.

Interpreting the fact

The facts of human fertility and food production do not appear before us with built-in interpreters; and due to the complexities of the many factors which must be considered, it is very important that the church pay heed to those persons and groups which, because of access to information and background for interpreting it, stand in a peculiarly advantageous position to point to the meaning of the present situation and its prospects. All analysts known to this author speak of the problem in the gravest of tones. There are no superficial optimists among those who are knowledgeable. Most tend to be profoundly pessimistic about the prospects. But first, let us turn to one group of interpreters who hold out a considerable degree of hope. Some months ago, the president of the United States appointed a Science Advisory Committee which in turn set up a panel of more than 100 experts in the relevant areas.

The panel's report was published in August of 1967. It was their conclusion that while the crisis is of the utmost seriousness, we can anticipate a period of some two decades in which the world will have an opportunity to work out solutions. "The world food problem is not a future threat. It is here now and it must be solved within the next two decades. If it is solved during this time, it will be manageable for the years thereafter". 1

A second interpretation - less hopeful - would see the "grace period" as being only ten years. In 1957, a group of scientists from the California Institute of Technology published a book entitled The Next Hundred Years . In 1967, at the end of the first decade of this projection, the predictions were reviewed and evaluated. The sobering result of this evaluation, as reported by John Bonner, a biologist member of the Cal-Tech team, was that 'The population has increased more rapidly than was expected ten years ago and food production has increased less rapidly. Today it is almost impossible for well-fed, educated people in the affluent societies of the West to identify with people in Brazil or India who are on the verge of starvation. If another ten years passes and the problem of communication and vastly increased actual help is no nearer solution than it is now, the cultural gap between the fed and the hungry in the world will become unbridgeable. Then the fed will begin to think of the world's poor as a species apart. Voices will be raised advocating letting the poor starve because they seem unable to help themselves enough, because they are regarded as a source of disease and danger, and because they occupy land and resources which they cannot or will not develop ... the problem of hunger will divide the world into two cultures engaged in a conflict in which one culture will devour the other". ² The group of scientists then proposes a ten-year program of emergency programs of food production and population control.

Yet a third interpreter speaks with urgency about the meaning of the facts of food and people. George Borgstrom, in his recently published book The Modern World at the Edge of Famine makes an exhaustive analysis of the situation, continent by continent, and comes to the conclusion that if present trends continue they can lead only to disaster. The only clear alternative is to adopt an immediate and massive program of stimulation of food production and the limitation of population growth. He sees present policies of neglecting food-production agencies such as FAO (of the United Nations) and massive investments in military and space developments as tragic. "The astronauts, the gladiators of our era, are not merely the popular heroes. They are also the symbols of modern scientific and technological mastership. Like the declining Roman Empire, we choose spectacles before bread".3

But not all serious interpreters offer even the meager hope of the aforementioned reports. In Famine 1975! William and Paul Paddock also engage in an exhaustive analysis of the problem of food and people. It is their contention that most studies are betrayed by the almost irresistable optimism which human beings have. This leads men to choose the more promising projections and to hope for maximum results of programs and policies. The Paddock brothers, however, feel that the demographic explosion "has already happened". Already the women have been born who will have the maternal capacity to produce the explosion of population. It is already too late to implement a birth-control program. No present known methods of fertility control - mechanical, chemical, IUD, oral contraceptives, abortions - give any real ground to suppose that their use will have an effect on the growth-curve of population within the immediate future. On the other hand, the present food situation - present malnutrition and starvation, present growth of food production and present technology - offer no hope that food production can be increased in time to stave off mass starvation. People have already outrun the food supply and by 1975 a period of mass famine will begin in the world. No presently known methods are available which can avert the disaster of mass famine! Our only course of action is to prepare for the facing of mass starvation in the world and adopt such policies as will benefit a particular way of life, or philosophy of man and society.

The Paddock brothers affirm that "A locomotive is roaring full throttle down the track. Just around the bend an impenetrable mudslide has oozed across the track. There it lies, inert, static, deadly. Nothing can stop the locomotive in time. Collision is inevitable. Catastrophy is foredoomed. Miles back up the track the locomotive could have been warned and stopped. Years ago the mud-soaked hill could have been shored up to forestall the landslide. Now it is too late. The locomotive roaring straight at us is the population explosion. The unmovable landslide across the tracks is the stagnant production of food in the undeveloped nations, the nations where population increases are greatest. The collision is inevitable. The famines are inevitable".4

There are no superficial optimists among the know-ledgeable. They are the "company of the concerned" - with varying degrees of urgency, pessimism and resignation. The Church must listen to these voices of the interpreters of the present and anticipated situation, and give its witness in the midst of this kind of a world.

For such a time as this

We have not chosen our times - <u>but these are our times.</u>
Our time is, in part, a time of present hunger and probable mass

starvation. The church must define her mission not for times as they were or as they should be, but as they <u>are</u>. Hence the importance of beginning our thinking about the church's mission with a call to face the fact of hunger and listen to the interpreters of that fact. But only the Christians can define the mission to which we feel called.

Mission emerges out of a consciousness of God's love for the world - especially as it has been made known in Jesus Christ. In our own specific time, it means that the church must be deeply aware that God loves this world, all the peoples in this world and each person in this world - all of whom share the common predicament and prospects. The church is a part of this world and can only witness faithfully in so far as it has a high degree of consciousness of being loved by God within God's all-embracing love for the world.

Thus the mission begins with solidarity with the world and its peoples. Many of those who stand in gravest peril are those who have the least capacity for self-defense or survival. No one speaks for them! The Church, so identified historically with the developed world of the West and so potentially strong there, must stand with those who "hunger". It must lift its voice in the presentation of the just claims of all humanity to the goods of this earth. It must oppose an approach to the problem which would convert men into statistics and deal with them only as the "masses", without regard to the birthright of each human being who has been made in the image of God. It must keep the discussion of the problem of food and people, from becoming a matter of food and bodies, or food and mouths. It must insist that food be seen within the context of personal and human values, and not just a tool or weapon of international politics. It must insist that human reproduction is not just human breeding which can be manipulated for political, economic or ideological ends. This mission of the Church is to stand forthrightly for the full dignity and humanity of mankind, to speak openly in the defense of the defenseless, to affirm God's love for all men and each one in particular.

The Church is also called to fulfil a prophetic mission of awakening the world to the seriousness of the situation. There is no place for the naive, innocent, optimistic mood in the face of the facts and their interpreters. Because of the position which the church still has in many lands, it carries a special responsibility to confront men with these realities, made more starkly real through the resolute persistence of the Church and more challenging because they will be set within the context of the ethical issues which are inherent in the problem. If the presentation of the problem is left entirely to those with only academic, technological or polit-

ical interests, it will not be seen in its full context. The Church needs to participate in the task of confrontation in order that the issues of moral responsibility can be clearly focused.

The Church has within its own hands a number of resources for direct involvement and action. Vast resources and organizations have emerged during and since the II World War which have been utilized primarily in programs of relief. In the face of the magnitude of this problem we have described, the Church must now seek to re-channel these resources into programs that are relevant to the dual problem of food production and population control. Both of these emphases must be properly interpreted. It must be clear to all that Christians do not seek to feed the hungry in order to perpetuate unjust and inhuman social systems - but that all men may live, and live abundantly. It must be clear to all that Christians do not encourage family planning and population control as a means of perpetuating positions of privilege and of dissipating the threats which emerge from rapid population growth among the underprivileged. It is imperative that direct Christian action in these two spheres be accompanied with a forthright declaration of principles of social justice and human dignity; and that every effort be made to disassociate such programs from any defense of the status quo and of the privileged classes or nations.

But the resources which are available for direct action by the Church are hopelessly inadequate to deal effectively with the problems which confront us. This means that the Church must be an active agent for persuasion and insistence for the adoption of desirable programs and policies by nations and international organizations. In many developed countries, the Church is sufficiently strong to exercise considerable influence on national policy, and in many of these same countries, vast resources are being channelled into programs of political, prestige or ideological significance but which do little or nothing to benefit the whole of mankind. The Church must also accept a major role in preparing the general public for the kind of sacrifices which will be called for if the needs of the under-developed world are to be met. This is of particular importance at the present time because of the problems of monetary stability and balance of trade which threaten national security and encourage the tendency to base all policies and programs on immediate national self-interest.

The Church also has a responsibility for helping to resolve the complex and very serious ethical issues which are related to this issue. The following would seem to call for special attention: the meaning of stewardship of natural resources, the adequacy of national self-interest as a basis for national policy, the right of individual and personal decision on the use of conception-

control measures, the morality of policies which deliberately limit food production in a time when human beings are starving, and the legitimacy of using food and human survival as an international political weapon. The magnitude and complexity of the people-food problem confronts the Church with many unanswered questions - questions to which traditional ethical teachings do not speak, and questions on which the Church itself has not worked diligently enough. One might say that the Church "must do its home work" in many areas if it is to fulfil this part of its mission as in any sense "the conscience of the world". It will not be helpful if it only speaks in platitudes and generalities, but only as it demonstrates thorough appreciation for the hard, specific realities of our world and speaks relevantly to them.

Finally, the Church cannot fulfil its role "for such a time as this" unless it is willing to re-assess its own life and resources, and to really be "the Church for others". Whatever objectives and goals the church may set, must be set in terms of the world, recognized as God's creation and that for which Christ died. No amount of sophisticated ethical proclamations will carry the weight of authority if the Church itself looks upon the needy and threatened of the world and "passes by on the other side". The Church, as a institution, must be willing to do what it asks others to do: to respond to the present and future needs of the world, through the giving of itself.

Notes:

- 1. <u>Food vs People</u>, Agency for International Development, Washington D. C., 1967.
- 2. Response to the Geneva Conference on Church and Society, Council on Christian Unity, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1967.
- 3. The Hungry Planet, by George Borgstrom. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1967.
- 4. <u>Famine</u>, 1975! by William and Paul Paddock, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, Toronto, 1967, pages 8-9. Used by permission.

MISSION AND DEVELOPMENT

(An interview with Rev. Philip Potter, Director of the Division of World Mission & Evangelism, WCC, by Dr. Harold E. Fey, editor of <u>History of the Ecumenical Movement</u>, 1948-68.)

- Q. In bringing to the attention of the Christian World what God's purpose is in making "all things new", the WCC has its calling in mission. Isn't it to summon Christians to realize that the Lord of the one church has his purpose today to achieve through these swift changes that are taking place?
- A. Yes. The Lord of the one church is the Lord of the one world. He wills that the world be one, and therefore he wills that the church be one in order to be the sign to the world becoming one people.
- Q. This leads us to the question of development. Pope Paul VI says that the new name for peace is development. Why cannot one say that the new name for mission is development?

- A. Yes, of course. Peace certainly carries the idea of development. But the basic idea of peace is wholeness. The total development of people should be towards a full life in community. Development is a movement towards this wholeness.
- Q. When the two-thirds of mankind needs desperately the means for development and the other one-third, possessing these means, is so pre-occupied with its own problems that it doesn't extend the help it could, how can the churches break this log-jam and contribute to the needs for development?
- A. One of my quarrels with the word 'development' is that it is used to refer exclusively to the poorer countries of the world. The problem of the Western rich countries is their spiritual underdevelopment. At a world philosophers' meeting an Indian Hindu philosopher said: "Western man has learned how to swim like a fish and to fly like a bird, but he hasn't yet learned how to walk like a man". This was a cruel kind of statement which could be turned back to the Indian people themselves. But he had a point. Development is not just physical and material. If we are speaking as Christians, we are concerned about the whole man. The reason why the economic development of the weak and the poorer nations is slow is precisely that the richer countries which are materially developed, are spiritually and in other ways egocentric and insensitive to their belonging to God's world and sharing one humanity.
- Q. This isolation, this kind of spiritual withdrawal from the membership of the human race, is a fundamental challenge to the Christian Gospel which thinks of one community.
- A. Yes, especially when this withdrawal has come after an aggressiveness which has reached out through colonialism, trade and even missions to the rest of the world, an aggressiveness which still exists with America in Vietnam.
- Q. So, then you would say that spiritual and ecclesiastical renewal cannot be isolated; it is related to community across the broad spectrum of human life?
- A. What I would say is this: that the fundamental problem of development is not merely attaining the physical means of development, of which we have plenty, but it is whether human beings can be so changed from the whole age-long drift of "chacun pour soi" to be for others. This is the fundamental issue. It is the issue of mission. Mission is precisely concerned with turning men to God and his righteousness, and so to turn to each other in justice and a shared community.

- Q. Does this particularly apply to the statement of Section II at Uppsala, that the good news of the new humanity can best be found in points of tension, such as in the revolutionary movements of our time?
- A. I am not sure whether the point is made as clearly as that. The new humanity may come out of the revolutionary movements, or it may not. I remember reading that when the American people were demanding their independence from the English king, all the good sound ecclesiastics and theologians in Britain, including John Wesley said: "Your cause is right, but wait! Be patient!" But many American Christians said, "We must break through, in order to be ourselves in this vast continent". The American revolution of course began the fashion of revolutions in our world. Not many saw then the hand of God in it. To me the real tragedy of the American revolution was that it was a revolution for a part of the population. By excluding the Negro community from that revolution in the 18th century, it postponed the real social revolution. And now the American people must face it. The same is true of Latin America.
- Q. Yes. If revolution is revolution for the sake of the few, as so many of our revolutions have been, for the Bourgeoisie or for certain other groups, or the recurrent 'coup d'état' in Latin America, and then there is little prospect for the new humanity. But if it is concerned about basic human justice for the whole community, then God may use men for his purpose, "to make all things new".

MISSIONARY, GO HOME

A few years ago, Professor James Scherer of Chicago Lutheran Seminary wrote a book entitled Missionary, Go Home. 1 His point, like that of Bishop Ralph Dodge in The Unpopular Missionary, 2 was that many criticisms of the missionary enterprise are justified and that there must be fundamental changes in order to respond better to new political and social situations. Today, "missionary, go home" has a more radical ring. If we want to show a continued relevance and necessity of world mission, we have to do it in relation to the serious problems of the world which require it. With so much suffering, nothing else is plausible, nothing else is true theologically. God's mission is for the world, not for the churches. World hunger and outrage at the economic and political injustice that permits it mark the end of the "modern" missionary period. Mission can no longer mean "missions". As French Dominicans have written, paraphrasing Pope Paul VI, the new name of mission is development. 3

3. Parole et Mission, Editions du Cerf, Paris, 15 Oct. 1967.

^{1.} Missionary, Go Home!, James A. Scherer, Englewood Cliffs, N. J: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964, 192 pages.

^{2.} The Unpopular Missionary, Ralph E. Dodge, Westwood, N. J. Fleming H. Revell Co., 1964, 167 pages.

I. Development as Human Hope

A word of explanation is necessary about the kind of development I have in mind. Development means more than economic and technological change: it means the planned striving for a fuller human life. Its domain is not determined by geography or color or cultural style but by poverty and languor. Since its basis is social organization, it is above all a political matter and requires legislation. The rich - and even less the rich nations - do not serve as a model for development any more than the wolf serves as a model for the sheep in the fables of La Fontaine. ("La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure".) The problem is life itself, not envy. Development implies emerging freedom and wider possibilities of participation and of self-determination, both for persons and societies as a whole. Originality rather than sameness is the only acceptable expectation, otherwise a new paternalism and benevolent racism take away the real human character of development. No nation is too rich to benefit from the cultural contribution of others, nor to learn to overcome its own injustices and poverty by the example of their experiences. But development in the best sense needs the correctives and encouragement which the insights of the Gospel can help provide.

The mission task is therefore not narrower, but has become immeasurably more comprehensive than ever before. The churches in all lands must gear themselves to a political and educative programme which increases the possibilities of fraternal cooperation among men for their common welfare. It is the Church universal, itself, which is "missionary", and the first change must come in the witness and action of Christians everywhere against injustice. It is basically a spiritual reality, not just "economics", to which the Churches must awaken men. The message of Jesus Christ is addressed not to individuals for their private salvation but to persons in community with their fellow-men. Therefore, a Christian commitment to development does not mean an end to evangelism, but rather an historical - and disinterested - expression of salvation in Christ. It is what we do which shows what we believe, as Jesus said again and again.

II. Agents of Change

Development - like mission - is the enemy of an idle conscience. Public opinion satisfies itself with <u>uncritical fatalism</u> about hunger and international economic structures. The indifference of the untouched has become institutionalized; they live off it! But however much some people ridicule prospects of development, it poses the real theological problem of what "mission" and "missionary" really mean. The Gospel itself, sets in motion the profound

revolution in the relations of men, the measure of which is not the degree of violence but the quality of change. It creates a new solidarity in suffering and hope, and makes men servants of one another as service to God. It is the action of His spirit in the world, maintaining the tension of possible transformation and the promise of joy.

"Missionary, go home" refers first of all to those who are not missionaries in that sense. It refers to those who keep their distance from the real problems, who strengthen the pietistic isolation of the Churches, and who reinforce the denominationalism inherited from Europe and North America. The missionary will sometimes be defended by just those church leaders who are conservative politically and satisfied with dependence on foreign financial support. He will also be defended sometimes by those who see him as a potential agent of change.

However, there is another sense in which "missionary, go home" is indicative. The very fact that it brings to mind a white person from the West shows that we have a very distorted understanding of mission. The mission of the Church is international and intercultural, as well as interracial, and it is partly the onesidedness occasioned by the prosperity and power of some churches which is at fault. The attempt to internationalize and to work ecumenically is necessary to a priority on development, because it takes into account the real task and nature of the Church. The extent to which people are offended by "go home" shows, perhaps, the degree to which their motives are mixed. Defensiveness (as denominational executives or sensitive congregations) means that the attention is on ourselves, not on the world and its struggles and sufferings.

Like all dogmatism, "missionary, go home" risks a certain lack of sociological realism. Hunger makes necessary a radical new departure in the use of men and money by the churches, not their elimination in every case. Institutions and programmes, financial resources of missionary societies, and the support of local churches must be evaluated in the light of ever more urgent responsibility. It means more money, not less, but for new uses in changing public opinion, lobbying with governments, and creating significant local cooperative projects. The mission of the Church is more obvious and more exigent than ever. In obedience to Jesus Christ, the churches in every continent find their unity and purpose in going beyond themselves for the sake of those who suffer most in body and soul. It is increasingly necessary after the natural expansiveness of affluent societies has simply petered out.

The mission of the Church is one of the few possibilities

the world has for overcoming the isolation of rich and poor nations in scorn and cynicism. It is one of the few legacies from the colonial period which is not totally discredited. It is a functional moral resource in modern society. And it is the sign of a living faith among Christians, no more complicated than I John 4:20, "... he who does not love his brother whom he has seen, cannot love God whom he has not seen". The Strasbourg reformer, Martin Bucer, in 1523, put it simply: "that no-one should live for himself but for others".

III. A New Basis of Cooperation

In many places the missionaries have an excellent record. Freedom fighters have been supported in parts of Africa, and Catholic priests have recently shown what happens when there is sympathy shown to guerrillas and their cause in Central America. In "Populorum Progressio", Pope Paul VI begins his section on the Church and development with a tribute to the missionary, saying that "the Church has never failed to foster the human progress of the nations to which she brings faith in Christ... However, local and individual undertakings are no longer enough. The present situation of the world demands concerted action based on a clear vision of all economic, social, cultural and spiritual aspects". The Pope goes on to say that "Development demands bold transformations, innovations that go deep", addressing himself to the intolerable gap between rich and poor.

In the work of development, many missionaries have shown the way. There has been heroism by them and affection for them. But some of them are pointing in a new direction and trying to find new and genuine ways of service, and these are the missionaries who are still appreciated and needed today. They alone are respected by the younger leadership in many places. The missionary is a new kind of man in the "younger" nations and churches, or he must go home. His job today must be done in government posts, universities, business and agriculture. He can work in theological education and lay training for the renewal of the churches in their service to the world, ecumenical service projects and economic cooperatives, supporting the leaders who are seeking to change things. The men and money of the Church's mission could go a long way towards making a better future.

The political implications cannot be avoided. The effects in the rich nations of the mission for development are clear: lobbying, education of public opinion, pressures on business and government authorities, and changes in the understanding of the affluent churches in their own surroundings (which include the international community). Money should not be used for what go-

vernments should do but used to get the governments to act. "Sending" churches have to be made to see that they have much to receive and also much to do on the home front to change attitudes.

French-speaking churches of Africa, the South Pacific and Europe connected with the Paris Missionary Society have combined their concerns in Common Apostolic Action. Why not more sharing of younger churches and two-way exchanges? There is needed a new respect for the poor, their rights and dignity, but also their necessary contribution and help to a well-to-do world caught up in its own problems. Vatican II gave particular attention to the judgement of the poor, not only on unjust societies but on the spiritual mediocrity of the middle-class churches. The worker priests continue to symbolize at the same time the inescapable ministry among the poor and the structural inability of our mission programmes to become a part of their world.

The missionary has gone home from Burma and Cuba and the churches are better off in many respects. Msgr. Illich proposed a three-year moritorium on Roman Catholic missions in Latin America and aroused the ire-archy of the hierarchy who withdrew financial support from his study centre in Cuernavaca. The lesson is that the necessary independence of churches from missionary predominance (and opportunity for restudy of relationships in mission) happens only under government pressure. This is not good enough, but most of our friends are too kind to say so. A new basis of cooperation must be found.

IV. Resistance to Evil

"Missionary, go home" cannot evoke for us the needed revision of missionary societies and their enterprises and the redeployment of the enormous funds available without raising the spectre of revolution. This has to be taken for granted, because revolution will occur wherever the right conditions converge with the right catalyst. History has always worked this way. There is no need for a "theology of revolution" because theology can neither provide the conditions of successful revolt nor avoid justifying radical changes which seek to serve the cause of justice. (Maritain warns against "pseudo-evangelical weakness and non-resistance to evil".) Theology which is faithful and makes contextual sense is enough. Christians have never really had trouble about using violence when the situation was thought to require it. Not only Luther and the nobles, but the peasants also were Christians. Not only Constantine and the bishops, but also the Waldensions, Huguenots and Puritans understood the need for force. St. Martin and St. Francis put off their armour to show another way. But even Christian passions can let fly against injustice: in Ravenna, less than a half-century after

Christ, the Christians were so incensed by the persecution of their Bishop Apollinaire that they rioted and killed over 200 people! As history shows repeatedly, after the slaughter of the non-violent comes the violence of peace-loving men.

What is the role for missions when violence threatens? Examples are already numerous of collusion with guerrillas. However, the least that can be said is that missionaries must go home rather than be identified with the status quo. They must not prevent the involvement required by the conscience of others. They can try to understand the protest of the younger generation in actively contesting the established order. Violence cannot be taken as a new absolute, but it must be seen in the perspective of its provocation. French Protestant and Catholic groups recently issued a statement of support for Christians whose political involvement has resulted in rejection by their local churches and isolation in their faith. 1

V. The Right Priorities

Missionary, go home - yes, in many cases where the poor are only made to feel more poor. But not as if there is no need for sharing among the churches, not as if a wave of racism and prejudice should arise between the churches, not as if unity in Christ were not a sign of the unity of all men and the promise of a more human world. Only if the new mission requires it. We have to be intelligently selective. Few generalizations are everywhere applicable. Even though the exceptions prove the rule, we want to look for the exceptions and put our emphasis there. Development will need more people and more flexibility. Exchanges of persons must come in more circles, not less, with a recognition of the important role of laymen. The Church has a new mission before it, because it is given a larger and more complicated task in witness to the Gospel in a hungry world. It has the means to make a difference.

^{1.} Christianisme Social, Témoignage Chrétien, and others, March 22, 1968, Lenten meetings on "Christinaity and Revolution".

THE MYTHOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

Harvey G. Cox

"Coffee, tea or milk?" purrs the airline stewardess, and we answer almost without thinking. How could any question be more trivial, farther removed from the issue of economic development in poor countries? Yet, symbolically at least, the question is a crucial one. At MIT economist Machael Brower once wrote, "U. S. wealth and power is so vast (we have some 40 per cent of the world's income each year) that we cannot even increase our consumption of tea over coffee without making a very real "intervention" in the lives of millions of people". (The Correspondent, Winter 1965, p. 100.) The decision between coffee or tea may be trivial for the citizen of a developed nation. But how people make such a choice, and how many, is a life and death matter for the poor nations.

The truth is that national economies are so interrelated today that hardly any policy in a developed nation is irrelevant to the problem of economic development. The first and basic myth we must expose in the rhetoric of development is the one that sees development as one issue among others, a sub-division of foreign policy. Development is immensely more than that today. It provides the basic category within which all international dealings must be understood, and it has become as well a question which is related to every domestic choice.

There are many people in the Third World who are rightly suspicious of the concept of "development". They want to see their nations develop, but they are suspicious of the use to which the term development has been put in some circles. For some people, for example, "development" is an antidote to socialism and is sold as such. For others "development" is the rubric under which foreign capital can open opportunities for itself in poor nations. The idea of development is also closely related in some people's minds to counter-insurgency and anti-guerilla programs: one must maintain a stable political context, the argument runs, so that development can proceed. No wonder the very term "development" is often viewed with deep distrust by many Africans and Latin Americans. A whole mythology of development has emerged, and it is one of our chief tasks here to demythologize it. I want to list five development myths which need debunking.

Myth 1: that development is mainly an economic problem. In the last decade which was supposed to be the "decade of development" we have learned, much to our chagrin, that development is not simply or even primarily an economic problem. Even among those committed to a capitalist or free enterprise approach, there was often the quaint orthodox Marxist notion that if economic institutions and practices of a society could be developed, everything else would follow suit. We have now learned that the economic, political, cultural and religious institutions of any society are intricately interwoven and that the development of one without the other can only be ruinous. In Latin America, for example, we have witnessed many attempts to advance the economic development of a nation while in effect retarding its political development by abolishing democratic procedures and putting control in the hands of military and authoritarian elements. In other places those who have worked for development have noticed that their work can either be enhanced or retarded enormously by the religious beliefs of the people and their cultural practices. We must begin to see development as a process touching equally on all aspects of a people's life, with economics as one very important component.

Myth 2: that economic development is mainly a task for private enterprise. This myth often springs from a mistaken conception about the history of economic development in the United States. The myth states that America had become so affluent mainly because of the untrammeled role which free economic enterprise played in its development. The fact, however, is that American

development occurred with an enormous amount of help from the government in the form of land grants, tax exemption, and the protection of industries from foreign competition, as well as many other governmental policies. However, even if the American-development story had been one of free enterprise, still this does not in any sense suggest that free enterprise will be able to do the job in countries where the conditions for development are extremely different. The fact is that in many nations the government is the only agency with sufficient breadth and authority to engage in comprehensive planning for development. Private agencies, churches, and non-governmental organizations have an extraordinarily important role to play in the development of any nation. However, the importance of their role should not be allowed to obscure the fact that it is governmental agencies which must bear the brunt of the planning and coordination of effort.

Myth 3: that the military power of developed nations should be used to protect their business interests abroad. Again this is a myth which has been particularly effective in informing the foreign policy of the United States. How often we have heard it said that it is the task of the American military and diplomatic establishment abroad to "safeguard American property and American interests". By this, of course, is meant the safeguarding of American corporate organizations. It does not mean the safeguarding of the long-run interests either of the people in the nation involved or the majority of people in the United States. There was a time when the only people who cared about other countries were businessmen and missionaries. At that time it seemed logical that the task of the military was to protect them in their interests. Now, we are beginning to recognize the interrelatedness of the destinies of all the peoples of the world and we can no longer allow the military to protect the interests of only a small group of people in any nation. This does not mean that it is improper for a government to assist the activities of business, cultural, religious or educational organizations which have programs in other nations. It does mean, however, that we must not automatically believe that the interests of these groups are identical with the aspirations for development in the poor countries or in the long run with the interests of the majority of people in the home country.

Myth 4: that the biggest danger to development is Communist subversion. How often we have been told that we must work for development in order to prevent Communist subversion of poor nations. Sometimes this view is stated in the exceedingly exagerated form in which it is contended that Communism is especially dangerous because it does often aid in the economic development of certain societies and therefore is all the more insidious. Two things must be said on this matter. First, there are instances

in which a Communist regime has been able to develop the economic and political life of a nation where other regimes had failed and might continue to do so. It is a mistake to make judgements about Communism or capitalism as such. There are not only "various roads to socialism" as is often argued in Eastern Europe; there are also "various roads to development". Second, the danger of this myth is that some of the developed countries, the United States in particular, have been led by it to support anti-Communist regimes in poor nations, no matter how reactionary and ineffective they were. We must now be ready to recognize that various forms of socialist and Communist regimes can lead a nation to economic and cultural development. This is not always the case, but it is also not always the case that Communism destroys or undermines development.

Myth 5: that revolution must be avoided at all costs. When one recognizes that economic and political development must go hand in hand, it becomes clear that there will be occasions in which the forcible transfer of state power from the hands of those who seek its enhancement will be a necessary step on the road to national development. "Revolution" is not something which should be either opposed or supported merely in the abstract. It is reported that Karl Barth was once asked whether he was in favor of revolution. "Welche Revolution?" his response. A posture which opposes all revolution in principle, or which celebrates a kind of abstract, romantic "revolutionism" must be discarded. It must be recognized that there are various forms of political change and that one of the forms of political change which has in fact enhanced the development of many nations in the world today is that of revolution. The American Declaration of Independence specifically states that when any government becomes destructive of the life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness which are the "inalienable rights" of all people, it is "the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness". The question of what constitutes a "just revolution", when the conditions are right for revolutionary change, and what methods and means should be used in a revolution are all, of course, open to discussion. However, the automatic exclusion of revolution from the development process is a myth which can no longer be sustained.

What is the task of the church in the development process? Since the religious and symbolic life of cultures and societies are an important component in the development process, the preaching of the Gospel which releases men from bondage to the world and sets them on the path of openness and responsibility for the future, is itself an essential ingredient in development. Also

as a voluntary institution with far-flung installations, properties, and personnel all over the world, the church can facilitate the development process by dymythologizing our mistaken notions about it and helping people to face the task of development realistically and factually. Also the church here and there can set an example of the process of development by advanced experimentation and demonstration of programs in the various questions of development. It is a mistake to think that the church either can or should lead or organize the development process in poor nations. It can stimulate the proper agencies to do so but probably cannot and should not take this lead itself except in extraordinary circumstances. Perhaps, however, the most important task of the church with reference to the question of development is in the advanced industrialized nations themselves. Here the church must convince people that as Pope Paul VI recently said, "Development is today's word for peace". To prick and catalyze the conscience of people in the developed nations so that they can appreciate and support the development process will mean expansion of the horizon of most normal Christians, both from the national or continental limits within which they now think and from the strictly "religious" understanding they have of the church's world-wide task. The prayer of our Lord that "all might be one" is a prayer which can now be fulfilled at least at one level if the resources of the earth are organised in such a way that all its children share in the life these resources make possible. This is the task of development. Along with the securing of peace it is the major moral and spiritual challenge of our time.

POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT

M. M. Thomas

Politics deals with the problem of organising and changing structures of power in society; and whether it is maintenance of an established structure or transforming one it involves power-struggle. And since men can seek and maintain power only by justifying it to themselves and to others in terms of the good it serves, or claims to serve, politics is always waged within the framework of ideologies, which provide both sanction and guidance to power-struggles. Is therethen any vital relation between development and politics understood in the sense of involvement in exercises of organised power and systematised ideologies?

Needed - A Politics of World Development:

Yes, there is. It depends largely on how we understand "Development". Development certainly means increased use of modern technology in agriculture and industry resulting in increased production of goods and services. The awareness of the possibility of technological exploitation of nature making poverty

and famine unnecessary is basic to the revolution of rising expectations among the poor in all societies. It is this which makes poverty a moral problem for the first time. But as Karl Marx rightly saw in the industrial revolution of his day, the development of productive forces through technology does not automatically eliminate poverty. Under the existing relations of power existing in the society (determined in his day largely by ownership of the means of production), technology only enhanced the exploitation of the unorganised powerless labour by the minority who combined political and economic power in their hands, making their poverty more acute than ever before. It was this that made him see the significance of power-politics for changing the established class structure of power. And whatever be the right or wrong of the Marxian theory of the politics of the proletarian revolution in his day or ours, it is clear beyond doubt that his insight about the necessity of political struggles for achieving the right of large masses of people to participate effectively in State power and through it to subserve the powers of production to social objectives proved universally correct. Indeed it was achieved in some countries through non-violent processes of transformation of the established power-structure without rent in the national community; and in others where the vested interests were more militant, through a radical overthrow of the established order. But the struggle of the working classes through power-politics and the ideologies of democracy and social justice was necessary not only to make economic forces serve economic welfare of people but also to remove the "fetters" on further application of technics to production.

At the World Conference on Church and Society, in Geneva in 1966, several speakers pointed out the parallel between the rich-power relation in Western Societies of the 18th and 19th centuries, and that of world community today; and they advocated intervention of political power and moral ideology in the struggle for world development, similar to the one which brought a large measure of the justice and development in the Western Societies. No doubt, the problem of world community is not exactly the problem of 19th century industrial West writ large, nor are the problems of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America exactly or similar to the ones which the industrial nations encountered in the past. New dimensions make our situations different; and therefore solutions also have to be different. But on the necessity of a politics of world development both within the nations and between nations, there cannot be any difference of opinion. Even those who were not impressed by the parallelism were convinced that what we needed most today was the "political will" for changing established power-structures and outdated ideologies which hinder the nations and the world of nations in the war against world poverty through worldwide development. Technological resources we have and we are developing them further; but it is becoming more and

more evident, that without the radical transformation of existing power-structures, technology will only serve to bring more imbalances in the world of economy, making technology the instrument of further exploitation of the poor by the rich, within and between nations, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The combination of a feudal power-structure, hierarchical social institutions and traditional ethos is a tough combination in all parts of the "third" world. It has kept the masses poor for ages and can use modern power and technology to strengthen the status quo and frustrate the struggle against poverty. And it finds strong support in the combination of power and ideology of the rich nations. That the poor deserve to be poor; that any radical social change is Communist and must be opposed; that any State initiative or control of economic life is undemocratic - these and other exaggerations of half-truths are persisting elements of the current American ideology and determine relations of the richest nation to the third world. Americans policies in Latin America and South East Asia in recent years are an illustration of how far she is prepared to buttress this ideology with military might in international relations. And Europe, compelled by conviction or necessity, either supports these policies or has sought to retreat from active concern for world affairs concentrating exclusively on its own prosperity and security. Even the Soviet Union has moved from a dangerously active involvement in developing nations through revolutionary violence to an equally dangerous indifference to their lot. So that today the framework of power and ideology within which international aid and trade are promoted is not conducive to world development.

The inability of technology by itself to create the conditions necessary for world development has been highlighted by Richard Shaul, in the light of his Latin American and North American experiences, thus:

Technology tends to shatter old forms of social organisation and cause constant changes in our way of life. But it does not automatically create a society that offers increasing opportunities, either for material well-being or for human liberation. To be sure, many people have known a marked improvement in their economic situation in the course of a few decades; yet nearly one quarter of our own population is still below the poverty line, and the distance between the standard of living of the rich nations and that of the poor nations becomes greater every year. It is now clear that the same developments that lead to improvements in our economic condition may also bring with them new forms of social domination, and limit

even more than in the past our participation in the process of decision-making that determines our future. Moreover, so long as technological advance is incorporated into the ideological ethos now dominant in our society, those developments that make old social structures obsolete also provide them with almost unlimited power for self-preservation. In fact, so long as the power of a technological society is largely concentrated in the hands of those who profit most from the established order, such use is almost inevitable. (Containment and Change by Oglesby and Shaul, Pp. 179-180)

And his conclusion that under the existing power-structure and ideology, nationally and internationally "the situation of the poor people of the world will become more desperate each year", is not an exaggeration. Dr. Prebish spoke at Geneva of the importance of a new "moral imperative" in the struggle against poverty capable of translating itself into politics. "What we need now" he said "is the political will in both the developed and developing countries to attack those problems with great vigour".

One of the significant contributions which the ecumenical movement can make to the politics of development is to enter into dialogue with those concerned with such politics on an "idea" of world development which can appeal to the moral conscience of mankind everywhere, challenge ideologies hindering the necessary radical changes in power-relations and provide a framework to guide groups concerned with political action in their several situations. It should be such as can bring under criticism the narrow selfinterest of the rich classes and nations and make use of the selfinterest of poor classes and nations without absolutising them. Effectiveness in politics requires this combination of self-interest of the poor with an ideology which has universal moral appeal as embodying some aspect of historical destiny. Sensitive men and women in the richer societies will then be able to identify themselves with it or will become mortally afraid of it. It was such a combination that made for democratic transformation of the industrial societies and channelled class-war along non-violent lines. And as we face today a more serious international class-war, a new idea of development which combines the moral imperative with the militancy of the poor to build up a new political will is urgently needed. What we are asking for is a framework in which a historical ideal is related to the imperatives of a spiritual vision and the realities of power. But the formulation of such an ideology is not the task exclusively of Christians nor is it something to be undertaken in the study or in conferences. It is when Christians identify themselves with the struggles of the poor against poverty and for

conditions of true development in concrete situations, and are able to reflect with men of other faiths and no faith on the meaning and end of such struggles, that they can make their unique contribution to the new ideology of a politics of world development.

Political Dynamics of Nationalism:

In the third world, development is closely integrated with the political dynamics of nationalism, which having achieved political independence from colonial rule, is compelled to go forward to a politics of consolidation of national unity and promotion of national development. An Indian economist S. L. Parmar has recently defined the meaning of the politics of national development in an essay. He says "it has to be a politics of revolution": "In responding to human needs we come against power structures which foment exploitation and injustice". And the dynamics of nationalism must be pitted against those power-structures, in the name of the struggle for development, unity and community. He says: "Nationalism is absolutely essential for us. Without nationalism we are likely to flounder in our fight against poverty. For example, we in India are accustomed to think and act in terms of caste groups, religious community groups, where the limited interest of the part must be subservient to the interest of the whole. It is not a nationalism against internationalism, it is a nationalism against parochialism ... One realises that our nationalism may begin as an anti-parochial force but end up as an anti-international force. The risk is there, but we really have no alternative in our fight against under-development". Nationalism alone has the combination of power and ideology to bring the various traditional groups together especially to bring the masses in the margins into participants of political and social process. It is through the awaking and participating of the hitherto submerged groups and through responsiveness to their interests that the power-structures buttressing the traditional stagnant economic order can be altered and given a new dynamism. It is in this way that nationalism acquires its democratic content, which is essential for technical and social advance in all countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The second aspect of nationalism which needs emphasis along with this is its stance against those economic pressures from outside the country which would not allow this democratic revolution to take place in the traditional power-structure and keep the economy to serve the foreign economic interests. Neo-colonialism could be used as an empty slogan, but in many places it has also a great deal of substance. Latin America certainly - and in other parts too. It should be clearly distinguished from international interdependence. This latter may also contain certain pressures of the strong on the weak. But they are determined by the weaker nations on the basis of the genuine interest of the people of the nation for the sake

of a controlled national development.

Both the above aspects of nationalism are basic foundations to build development on. Whether the foundation can be built nonviolently and with respect to the fundamental liberties enshrined in the Rule of Law depends on the militancy of the vested interests (indigenous and foreign) and the effectiveness with which the modernisers can forge the combination of revolutionary power and democratic ideology. Rule of Law itself has to be given a dynamic rather than a static definition - as the New Delhi Congress of International Jurists did. They spoke of it primarily not as checks to the exercise of power, but as a contribution to social engineering to make the economic, political and social changes necessary to promote human rights. Often those who are most vocal about the Rule of Law are those who are most resistant to change, and the first to resort to defy legal proprieties when law goes against their interests. The situations vary so much that the relation of power, law and development will take different expressions, and we have therefore to recognise a plurality of political ideologies of development in the next decade.

A third aspect of the politics of national development in the third world is the necessity to evolve indigenous patterns of self-development based on emphasis on "human resources" and content with 'moderate goals of development' not necessarily obsessed with the idea of "catching up" with the West. As Dr. Parmar said at the Asian Conference on Church and Society, recently, "To the extent that modernisation implies a rational approach to problems, we in Asia must begin with the facts of our situation and formulate economic policies in their light. It is imperative that we evolve a concept of self-reliance ... Our competition is with our own previous performance only. Our societies have been overenamoured of 'catching up', when the more realistic objective is 'standing up' ". Within such a concept the need in developing nations is for State initiative to determine economic priorities, promote population control and create the legal and material conditions for changes in traditional structures leading to the release of dynamism in agricultural and industrial development. Not only the sense of national selfhood but also stark international economic realities are forcing the nations to consider the path of indigenous patterns of development. Again, this has to be distinguished from the ideology of national self-sufficiency, though frustration with the patterns of international trade and aid may lead to it. It is only when open development fails that a nation is pushed into closed development.

New Politics in The Rich Nations:

We have concentrated on politics of national development in the Third World. Already we have touched on several inter-

national aspects of it. And the implications of the same for the politics of the richer nations, and of the international community are evident. One could repeat here several points which are being continually made by informed people on patterns of aid and trade. The Algiers meeting of the 77 poor-nations has again spelt out some of the concerns they have with structures of international trade and development, and as I write this, the New Delhi meeting of the UN on Trade and Development is due to meet soon. And by the time of Uppsala the contemporary issues in this field will have been brought out more clearly than ever. The loans which are returned to the rich nations as interest on earlier loans, the tariff walls that prevent new nations selling their manufactures and earning foreign exchange, the destructiveness of free play of market forces on commodity prices, etc. are all common knowledge. It is not necessary to repeat them. But it is clear that there is need for the intervention of politics to make world development an overriding criterion of the policies of the rich nations. Is this possible, especially since the policy advocated requires at least some curb on unlimited rates of economic growth? Here the "Utopians" may well create the condition for a politics of development rather than the so-called "realists" who cannot think of politics except in terms of the calculations of narrow self-interest. Will the rich nations give up their attempt to build ideological empires and accept a plurality of ideologies in the world of nations oriented to development? Will the powerful nations pull together to channel the resources which they are now wasting to wage war between relatively outdated ideologies to wage peace the name of which today is, as the Pope has said, Development? Will the "rich nations use their technological abilities fully but fix a ceiling on the portion of the produce that they keep for themselves while making the rest available to needy nations in ways that will promote rapid development in the latter"? And can the Church be a lobby for such politics of development in the richer nations, even at the risk of becoming unpopular? After all, the Church is stronger in the richer nations than in the poorer. Loud calls to such politics were heard at Geneva. Barbara Ward pointed out that at a time when two-thirds of the world is struggling against poverty the world spends \$ 130 billions a year on arms and this misdirection of material resources is growing. She proposed international taxation for world development. She asked: "Why at the moment when we can incinerate this planet have we also been given the means to feed the human race and lift it up? If this is not the apocalyptic moment, at which in some sense we as Christians are supposed to look, I don't know how much more apocalyptic you want us to be. And that being the case, can we not out of this conference decide that as far as politics are concerned we are not ever again going to be content with the half truths and the half promises, but our political action is going to create a community of citizens in the world which can act in this field.

Christians alone straddle the whole spectrum of rich nations, and therefore Christians are a lobby or can be a lobby of incomprehensible importance".

One of the heartening features of the ecumenical movement is precisely that under the joint auspices of the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches, Christians in the rich nations are beginning to take politics of world development seriously. Of course there is too great an attachment to order and too great a fear of revolution among Christian leaders of the West disabling them to understand the revolutionary dynamics of development in the poorer nations and in the world of nations. But there are indications that a seachange is taking place in the climate of thought in informed circles. Already Churches in the West are lobbying with governments for policy priorities for international development, demanding from them commitments for adequate aid, increasingly multilateral, less burdensome and eliminating purchases and cold-war restrictions; also fairer global commodity arrangements, liberal imports of goods from developing nations, and priorities for food, family planning and education for development. Whether these actions are adequate to move the levers of political and economic power, it is much too early to say. But it is good if there is no uncertainty in the direction we have to move.

If we dig deep enough, we shall find that the tragedy at the moral and the political levels of life is connected a great deal with the idols we worship in our communal life. In India literally and in other poor and rich societies symbolically we have our "sacred cows", the outdated traditions of structures and ideas reinforced by the false spiritualities of idolatry. We have seen the vision of a universal humanity, and are conscious within us and in others of our common human identity. But we are fearful of giving expression to our human identity because our moral and spiritual securities today are within the narrower separate communal identities of tribe, race, nation and class. In fact, up to date, we do not have structures of political, economic and social life which express human identity. Perhaps the politics of world development will push us out into a politics of human identity. If Christian ecumenism cannot become the dynamic for such a political development, what is it for?

HOW SHALL WE SING THE SONG OF THE LORD WHEN THE POOR PERISH!

Paul Verghese

To sing! It surely takes strong guts, calluses on the heart, or a slightly insane bent. Would it not be mockery of man to sing the praises of God when the poor perish without hope?

I walk through the streets of a small town in Bihar. An emaciated, pot-bellied child of six, with all his bones sticking out, is hungrily rummaging the garbage-heap. He turns to look at me with semi-scared eyes too desperate to express any sentiment. How shall I sing?

I walk through the streets of big-city, Bombay. There are all kinds there. No starvation visible. Only greed and deceit and cunning, for without these it is impossible to survive. There is only the desire to get, no drive to give. Humanity gets stunted in stature, decadent in dignity. How shall I sing!

The rich care little beyond charity. The not-so-rich middle-class intelligentsia know the problem; but they have lived

with it too long to be able to retain any sensitivity about it. The one great occupation is to make money - and that is hard enough, without having to worry about the economy and all that!

Politics too, is a way of making money. If you cannot get a job, and if you have a fairly average gift of gab, then you go into politics. Sometimes you can become a minister of government, and make pots of money!

Well-trained young engineers of all sorts of specializations come to me day after day, seeking help to find "employment", abroad if possible, otherwise here in India. They have made a great investment of time and money in working for an engineering degree, knowing that they could make money if they became engineers. But now, the Fourth Plan of the Government of India has been reduced due to lack of capital resources, and there is no need for half as many engineers as have been trained.

What song of praise shall I sing to a God who allows so much misery and want, so much human degradation and indignity to flourish? Were not a plague or a war better than such slow death in starvation and indignity?

And then I look at the faces of the well-fed in the lands of affluence. I am looking for the signs of the image of God which is the glory of man. Man is flourishing, without starvation or unemployment; the rich-poor disparity is increasingly being levelled out; the old and the sick are socially cared for; all losses and dangers are insured against; there is social security, the comforts of life, and all that I have been told are the foundations for the life of dignity and excellence. But there too, some demonic values seem to have taken over. Making more, doing better, working harder, winning the race - these become obsessions. Nothing very solid about human relationships - they seem so fragile, tentative, utilitarian, functional, and therefore disfunctional in terms of man's destiny. There is concern for social justice, there is charity, there is even mission, but fundamental man still appears desperately decadent. Even the acts of charity serve merely to salve the conscience and benumb true compassion. Can they sing the song of the Lord? Can I sing with them?

How shall we sing the song of the Lord in such a strange land? What do we praise God for? Our harps are hung on the willows. Our songs do not soar for the wing of the heart is clipped.

And yet, sing we must for we are children of the gospel, the song of joy. Of what shall we sing? Of sin and sorrow?

Of the wounded Christ hanging helpless on the Cross when mankind perishes of hunger and hysteria?

Shall we rejoice, as the Apostle Paul suggests we should, that while our outer nature is perishing our inner man is being renewed from strength to strength? If only that were true. Yes, the Christian is to rejoice in the midst of suffering, to sing songs of joy in the midst of tribulation. But . . . If only the tribulation and the suffering were for the sake of the gospel, then we could have suffered gladly. In this case, it is suffering to no purpose or at least so it seems to our impatient minds. But perhaps part of this suffering is the result of injustice - both national and international, both economic and social.

And therefore, at least the first of our songs shall be one of teshubah, of repentance and return to reality. We need to acknowledge that the present suffering does not become redemptive, until we make it the occasion to affirm the fundamental reality of our existence - the solidarity of the human race created by God. The present misery is of our own making, for we have been too much wrapped up in the national and regional problems whenever we have stepped out of even narrower parochialisms. The present misery with all its gall and gore, enveloping men in affluence as well as in poverty, is an invitation to repentance in sackcloth and ashes. Mankind has to mourn and weep in woe, before we can be made to see that God wants us to gird up our loins as mankind and to strive to bring back justice and equity to the whole of our race.

Worship must pick up this double theme - the solidarity of mankind, and our joint responsibility to share the sorrow of mankind and to work for its relief. We need to see the terrible truth that the blood that flowed out of the side of the Man on the Cross was the blood of the Vietnamese and the Venezuelan, the American Negro and the Indian peasant, the Afrikaaner and the Stalinist. We are all one big bundle, our guilt is just one big lump that belongs to all of us together, the reparation must come from all of us together. All that is beginning to make political and economic sense these days. It is no longer pious and wishful thinking to say "In Christ there is no East nor West" and all that sort of stuff. The solidarity of mankind today is a solid economic, political and moral truth. The Church must repent that it has only declared this truth without living it out economically and politically. And in that repentance is the beginning of true worship today. That is one song which we need to sing at the top of our voices and sing it with our lives too. The Church should devise fresh and imaginative ways of singing out this truth in worship and life.

The war in Vietnam and the famines of India are family tragedies which affect the whole of mankind. We know that

none of us can escape from the consequences. If the might of the mighty is allowed to become the standard of justice in the human family, then tyranny shall destroy the whole family. If naked power is allowed to triumph over a weak member of the family, all of us shall soon become slaves, and the mighty will also destroy himself. If men are allowed to perish like mice in one corner of the world, then no one shall sleep in peace in any part of the world. This we need to sing and bring to the minds of all mankind.

Should not the songs of the Church declare without hesitation a war on the giant disparity in affluence among mankind? How can we go on singing pious little songs of irrelevant praise to God, when 90 per cent of the people of Asia and Africa and Latin America live under what is regarded as the poverty line in the USA? I am told that the poverty line is below \$3,500 a year. That is the salary of the highest paid officials in India. Not even two percent of the 500 million people of India would come up to what the US regards as the lower average for decent living. In other words what is regarded as humiliating poverty in one part of the world is enviable affluence in another.

What should shock our consciences much more is the fact that there are 52 countries in the world, comprising about two-thirds of the population of the world, where the average per capita income is less than \$100 a year! In other words, at least 1500 million people in the world today are living at a level of income which is about 3% of what is regarded as poverty in America!

So, Let us Sing to Educate the Conscience

Statistics are notoriously unsingable. They reduce human reality to abstract facts and figures. And it is not knowledge of facts and figures that is lacking among men today, but the capacity to assimilate these facts and figures with compassion. And only worship can add that dimension of compassion to the education in facts. We need to sing and sloganize in order to learn creatively.

Statistics are of course, never static. They keep changing. But there are certain fundamental notions illustrated by the facts - like the solidarity of mankind - which do not fully come alive except with the aid of facts and figures, of political, social and economic realities, and some measure of transcendent sanction.

The broadening of human consciousness everywhere to include the whole of mankind in its concern, and the giving of economic and political reality to that consciousness, are two of the greatest priorities facing the renewal of worship in all our churches. It is part of the liberating influence of the gospel to free

men from personal selfishness as well as from any form of group selfishness which stops short of the whole of mankind.

The concern for man in his materiality is a second aspect of the same process of education through worship. We have spiritualized man to the extent that economic and political concerns seem to be unwelcome intruders in the worship of the Church today. Our forefathers prayed for winter and summer in due season, for the former and the latter rain, for the widow and the oppressed. We need to make these traditional concerns of the Church more contemporary.

Perhaps the best way of dealing with the materiality of man is to speak of the basic dignity which God has given to all men. For matter is to be used by man to affirm his own dignity which is a reflection of the glory of God. Therefore every affront to human dignity, whether it be in the form of abject poverty, or callous indifference, of social and economic discrimination, or of inhuman methods of war, should be regarded as an affront to the glory of God. The Church should rush to the defence of the dignity of man, for that dignity is the bearer of ultimate reality about man, the universe and God.

There is one danger, however, in using worship to educate the conscience. Worship can never be reduced to an educational technique, and the overuse of facts and information inside prayers can be totally self-defeating. Prayer cannot be addressed to each other. Its educational value can only be a byproduct. It is only to the extent that our prayers are accompanied by deep longing for the object of our prayers that they can become effective. Only when prayer thus becomes real can it be educative as well. If prayer is oriented towards education, it soon becomes not only artificial and ineffective, but it may seriously hamper the serious consideration of the issues.

But in our age there is this great need to push for one big idea in the worship of the Church. During the period of western expansion into the world, western Christian hymns became saturated with the missionary theme, a theme which was so poorly present in earlier hymnody even of the Reformation period. Similarly, in our time, there should be this vision of the Kingdom of God manifesting itself upon earth through justice and peace, through adequate international political and economic structures and so on. Religious education of children and adults should then supplement what is already in the worship of the Church.

There is urgent neet to create the vision of a world wide pluralistic community which embraces the whole of mankind without the exclusion of any group, tribe or nation. No compromise

is possible at this point, and if the Church fails to compaign for these issues, they will be taken up by all sorts of cranks and crackpots whom God shall raise for the occasion.

Let us Sing also to Kindle Hope in Mankind

The notion, even if unexpressed, is widely entertained in many parts of the world, that the economic ills of Asia, Africa and Latin America are beyond human coping. There are the beginnings of a cynicism, which seeing how tardy the Asian masses are intaking up birth control, would secretly wish some catastrophe, man-made or otherwise, to exterminate the surplus population, so that the rest of us can live in fair comfort! This is a cynicism born of callousness and despair, and the worship of the Church should do everything possible to banish such inhuman ideas from the minds of people.

In a gigantic country like India, the weight of the burden is beginning to tell on those who shoulder responsibility for the development of the nation. The progress achieved during the first period of the national effort seems to have been dissipated in subsequent developments. There is growing despair, the feeling that there is no way out.

In a sense, despair is the matrix of faith. It is only when every possibility seems beyond us, that we seek for the possibility from beyond.

At the moment, however, despair seems to be based on callousness rather than on the absence of possibility. There are some who claim that the continued prosperity of the developed nations calls for all the resources they have. There are others who wax eloquent on the possibilities of the developed nations becoming entirely self-sufficient, so that they would not need to import even primary commodities from the developing world. The infinite possibility of producing synthetic materials would eliminate the need for economic inter-dependence for the "have" nations. At the same time, the developing nations, recognizing fully that their very survival is dependent on the market for their primary commodities, would like to grow independent of the developed countries, for they find dependence both economically and spiritually enslaving.

Today the developed nations transfer less than 1 % of their gross national product to the developing countries, and do it with a strange combination of grudging and fanfare. It is certainly doubtful economics to think that the western nations can continue to develop in isolation from the rest of the world. It is certainly very wrong social psychology to think that a stable and secure

world can be built up with a great gap underneath between the haves and the have-nots.

The way ahead is clearly one of economic interdependence. The question is, at what speed should we develop the
structures for a world-wide economy with some measure of fairness and justice? If the answer is that we are doing all the best we
can, then that is certainly a word of despair. For if we cannot
move much faster, we are all going to perish - rich and poor
alike. A powerful nation of the poor may be driven to acts of
desperate destruction, bringing down greater ruin upon herself.
The poverty of the two-thirds world is more than a threat to the
economic security of the developed third world. It is a cloud that
grows to ominous proportions for all of us. It begets despair and
destroys human creativity.

The reluctance of the governments of the affluent nations to take bold and imaginative steps to alleviate human misery in the world seems to contribute in no small measure to the growth of this despair about the present situation. There are many intelligent western political leaders who are convinced about the desperate need for decisive action. But the advocacy of such ideas is politically suicidal at the moment. The public is not yet adequately aware of the urgency of the problem or of the enormity and complexity of the issues involved. They cannot therefore gladly accept any short-term burdens of sacrifice. So the scene moves, based entirely on short-term thinking and immediate interests, in a direction which becomes more and more clearly catastrophic.

That is a vicious circle. The political leaders are selfish enough to want to retain their positions by not endangering public support. They claim that they are really enlightened, but that the public is basically selfish and uneducated. Surely the people cannot be that much more evil than our political leaders. If they can understand the issues, the people can too. The only thing is, somebody must dare to initiate the process of kindling hope and initiating action. Political leaders prefer to calculate the risks and remain cool. The Church, on the other hand, has her very raison d'être in her willingness to take risks, even to the point of death. In a world where the devil continues to operate through the fears of men about losing their being, the Church alone should have the courage to. That it is in laying down one's life that one actually finds it. The Church may herself lose financial support by bold advocacy of the interests of the dispossessed. But only in the measure to which she shows that courage will she be the agent of renewal in the world.

To kindle hope in the minds of men today about the economic ills of the world is a risky undertaking. The Church will

get less and less money for her own charity programme, if she becomes too outspoken in condemning the injustice of the present order. But it is only in such condemnation that rouses opposition that the powers of evil are really challenged.

If we regard the present structures and policy of inter-church aid, oriented basically towards disaster relief and a few outmoded development projects, as more important than the future of mankind, then we are of all men most blind. It may be necessary for us to risk endangering our whole inter-church aid operation in order that the Church structures may be able to shift gear for the uphill climb towards human justice in the international sphere. If the Church cannot take this risk, it has very little right to ask the peoples of the affluent nations to take the short-term risks necessary to evolve a fairer and more equitable distribution of privilege and responsibility in the wide world. The test of our sincerity would be the cuts in our inter-church aid programme. There seems to be no other way of kindling genuine hope.

Let us Sing also to Move the Nations

The Churches have in recent times shown remarkable vitality in the areas of race relations and the Vietnam War. In both fields bold and decisive church action has acted as a catalyst for the formation of turbulent waves of public opinion. In the field of international economic justice also, we should get ready to sloganise, to demonstrate, to have great public rituals of protest and promotion of ideas.

The public mind has to be fairly well 'indoctrinated' before governments will move to action. Especially in those churches which maintain flexibility in form and freedom of improvisation in regard to worship, there should be devised certain semi-sacramental acts of prayer for international economic justice and for adequate international political structures for tomorrow's world community.

The foreign student and the foreign migrant worker present in many countries of affluence should provide the possibility for concrete demonstrations of the future shape of humanity. The churches could probable take the initiative in organising large-scale rallies which bring to the mind of all the presence of the 'stranger in our midst' and ritually celebrate the new world of international humanity that God is bringing to shape before our very eyes.

It takes a new vision and great boldness of imagination to sing the songs of the Lord in this strange land where God has

brought us. Like the children of Israel, who sat by the waters of Babylon and wept, we are bewildered by the loss of that familiar world where we used to know all the answers. It was the Babylonian captivity that delivered Israel from the grooves of its own faulty thinking. God has forcibly taken us out of familiar territory, and placed us before a staggering horizon. So we hang our lyres on the willows, and sit wilting under the drooping willow-branches of inaction.

The whole point of bringing us to this strange new land, full of perplexing problems, sparse in guideposts and landmarks, rumbling with unknown terrors, is to elicit from us a new song. Our old songs will no longer do. It is about time mankind grew up a bit. God has decided that we have reached the age of puberty. And he insists that we should no longer be allowed to sing the old nursery rhymes of pious good wishes. We need to venture out into life a bit, so that our mettle could be tested and our muscles grow a bit stronger.

The Vietnam and the race relations fields have given us some models on which to experiment with new songs. The imagination of youth has, however, to be educated. Race and Vietnam, though universal issues, are of immediate interest only to certain nations. Here is a world wide issue which affects the future of humanity in a mighty way. This will no longer be merely a matter of protest, but a genuine campaign directed against the decision-makers of our societies to devise urgently the necessary political and economic structures.

The Pax Russo-Americana cannot last much longer. Vietnam may well turn out to be the Waterloo of America. The structures of world security are crumbling faster than we had anticipated.

If the Church fails at this juncture to have vision enough to devise new songs about the world of tomorrow, the end of the world may come too soon for the good of some of us who are responsible to the Lord.

To educate the conscience of mankind, to kindle hope in humanity, and to move the nations to decisive political and economic action, these are the themes of the songs we have to sing today. Perhaps the refrain for all of these songs shall be one of teshubah, of returning to reality, of waking up from the dreamworld of the familiar.

APOCALYPSIS CUM FIGURIS

Lewis Wilkins

Christians have never been able to listen with both ears to all parts of the Bible at once. Every period of Christian history, every movement within the Church, has found itself more intimately attached to certain books than to the rest. In sixteenth-century Europe, the letters of Paul became a platform for reformation. Sizeable and significant bodies of Christians have stood firmly rooted in Johannine tradition, and have viewed all else in that light. Much of 19th-century theology and piety developed on the basis of a particular view of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

Often the sheer practical impossibility of bringing the whole diversity of faith's witnesses in the Bible under a single theological tent has led to acrimonious debate about where the real 'center' of Scripture is found. In the process, prodigious feats of hermeneutical artistry have tried to stretch the canvas far enough to cover all of Scripture's raw Alpine crags and to amputate a peninsula or two that turned out to be uncoverable. Marcion was the theologian who went further than anybody else. His smallish

Gnostic tent could cover only the letters of Paul and a truncated Gospel of Luke, and he was not sufficiently gifted in the arts of exegesis to camouflage his shortage of canvas. He simply published his revised standard pocket Bible, which got him into a lot of trouble. Subsequent tentmakers have been more careful.

The awakening of historical consciousness in the modern period has virtually eliminated the necessity to force the Bible into small theological tents. Gradually almost all Christians have come to see that the books of the Bible were written in different times and places by real men, who apprehended the faith in the unique terms of their specific historical and sociological situations. All stood in a tradition that began with Abraham, but that tradition was by no means monolithic. The traditional faith delivered to the rancher Amos in Tekoah was not identical with the belief passed on to the aristocrat Isaiah, who grew up in the shadow of the temple in Jerusalem. Jesus and Paul did not attend the same Sunday school; James' rural Palestinian Jewish environment was far removed from the erudite Hellenistic milieu of the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.

This discovery of what James Barr has called the "pluriformity" of biblical tradition has had important consequences. Far from relativizing Scripture into irrelevance, as some people feared, historical-critical scholarship has taken the Bible out of its splendid sacral isolation and set it squarely in the middle of our world and its conflicts. To be sure, there can no longer be any doubt that the prophets and apostles spoke the language of their particular, restricted horizons and contexts. They had no time capsules in which their words were deposited to speak directly to us. But having given them up as timeless oracles we have had them returned as much more sharply defined figures, involved concretely in the events that moved the men of their times.

This rediscovery of sociological backgrounds, against which the men of the Bible stand out in sharply etched relief, has been most pronounced in the prophets of Israel. The earlier idea of Old Testament prophecy as the nation's moral conscience, in the sense that the prophets were principally men who issued moralistic pleas to king and people to "do good", has begun to give way to another view of the matter. It is now seen that at least some of the prophets some of the time were practising Realpolitik, based on the conviction that repentance was the only realistic political strategy by which Israel could hope for survival. They were less interested in persuading people to pursue some abstract ideal of moral goodness than in uncovering the connections between fault and fate that spell doom. Their style was less imperative than indicative. If you continue to do what you are doing, you will

perish by the sword. If you turn around and go toward a different future, you will live.

The prophets' "relevance" is now seen to be not so much a matter of "applying" what they said to kings and people in their times. That project can have at best only limited success with a relatively small selection of texts that can pass through some theological filter than rejects everything supposed to reflect a "pre-Christian" level of spirituality. The prophets come to life rather as models for contemporary Realpolitik. What they said in their times must be understood in order to see clearly the role they were playing in their immediate social and political situations. But the role is what interests us most, the how and the why of their doing. Once that begins to come clear, we can see whether or not it is helpful in our situations, and to search for new styles and to create new means for communicating an equally hard-headed and realistic assessment of where our societies have come from and where they are headed, if they do not give the rudder a sharp turn away from doom.

Prophetic <u>Realpolitik</u> today might argue like this. If you rich countries continue your present policy toward the poor countries, you and your children's children will be swallowed up by the proliferating, hungry masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America. If you politicians do not begin building cities for people to live in, tomorrow's revolt of the alienated will put us all back into an over-populated stone age. If you big powers do not stop stockpiling nuclear weapons, we may not make it around the corner of the 21st country.

But there is another dimension to recovery of contemporary prophetic style. In Isaiah's day, for example, there were great national holidays when the whole body politic of Jerusalem gathered in the temple. The prophet could stand up on such occasions and speak directly to king and princes, property owners and serfs. The scale of modern societies hardly permits a prophet to rely on an opportunity for the same sort of effective, person-to-person "telling it the way it is." Indeed, in the TV countries words spoken and printed seem to be suffering a general loss of power. All of the words spoken about where society in the United States is going if it does not practice effective political repentance of its heritage of racism have had less direct power than the pictures of police dogs attacking Negro women in Birmingham or the empty shoes of four little girls killed by a racist's bomb thrown into their Sunday school. Of course, the pictures alone, without an interpretive verbal context articulated by word-geniuses of the caliber of Martin Luther King, would surely have had less effect. But by themselves words no longer communicate as they once did.

Here emerges the fundamental importance of speaking today about "styles of life". Style can be seen. The search for a style of life is a quest for visibility, for forms and colors that can set a unique individual or group off against the drab mediocrity of a routinized social and political background. Style is the quality that makes the Beatles visible against the background hordes of nameless imitators.

The element of visibility introduced by speaking about the formation of life in terms of style distinguishes such an approach from that employed in individual or social ethics. Unfortunately, the two are often confused. In the Section V1 draft for Uppsala, for example, one gets a distinct impression that "a new style of living" is used simply as a neutral catch-word under which tentative attempts at quasi-new morality can be introduced without arousing immediate suspicion that someone is trying to undermine the foundations of Christian life. The draft shows how difficult it is to circumnavigate the Western Christian bias toward transposing the pursuit of truth and beauty into the key of goodness, i.e. into ethics and morality. For the Greeks, the three were ultimately one: a tragedy by Sophocles might win the competition only if it were at once an incorporation of the good, the true and the beautiful. Most of us find it almost impossible to hold on to that unity of vision. And if we have to choose between them, our instincts are to seek a truncated ethical good at the expense of beauty, flair and style.

There are signs that the pressure toward making this false choice is beginning to let up. Marshall McLuhan suggests that the Western obsession with the ethical and all that it entails, including privatization of morals and the preoccupation with individual motivation into which the Protestant ethic has degenerated, is a direct result of the print technology on which Western mechanization has been based. The advent of electronic technology is shaking that base and breaking down the mechanically repetitious, identical, ethical and social boxes into which individuals have had to fit themselves under print's homogenizing influence. In the new "global village" - McLuhan's image-paradox for what he sees the electronic media doing to our social organizations and psyches - individualistic "jobs" in precisely defined tables of organization give way to new ways of defining the individual's social "place". The individual comes to be defined by the role he plays in whatever social matrix he finds himself, rather than by the slot he fills. And "role" is a matter of relationships, a definition of the "space" a person occupies in terms of his or her interaction with the other actors on the stage. Role is therefore openended toward surprising, unpredictable future developments in a way that a job is not. It is always in process of being defined and refined, of creating new configurations, of gaining or losing visibility as the scene, the lights and the dramatis personae change.

Style of life-thinking already reflects this shift toward according the beautiful life, in the sense of a well-played role, equality with traditional concern for an often arid good. Concern for styles of life is therefore less a challenge to traditional morality and ethics than it is potentially a highly constructive signpost out of the crisis that all the neat and traditional ethical systems find themselves in today.

In his "hopeful book about decadence", Michael Harrington has described our time as The Accidental Century. 1 There he argues that:

"The accidental revolution has resulted, not in this or that loss of faith, but in introducing doubt and contradiction into every Western creed, secular or religious. In time of gentle apocalypse, such as the present, it is possible to ignore such a convergence of crises or to treat them pragmatically. The revolution is going its casual way, there are no Western coups d'état to take a position for or against, and one can hope that the situation will be blundered through. Still, it is of some consequence that capitalism, socialism, democracy, religion, and atheism have simultaneously become problematic. This fact might become even more urgent tomorrow if, as can never be discounted in this century, the revolution would once more become revolutionary". ²

In the Western countries, the accidental revolution has been a "pacific war of capitalism against capitalism"3 as technology has been introduced to create a new civilization without giving thought to where that new civilization was headed and what its human and social consequences would be. In consequence, the traditional language of Weber's "Protestant ethic" has become farther and farther removed from the reality of Western economic life. While the old capitalist virtues have enjoyed a rhetorical renaissance, "in the spiritual name of courageous, inventive and risk-taking individuals, bureaucratized corporations, supported and subsidized by governments, were planning an increasing independence of the laws of supply and demand or the judgement of investors... The civilization of capitalism, its ethics, its morality, its philosophy, was being destroyed by the practice of capitalism". 4

Harrington's analysis applies in the first instance to

^{1.} First published 1965; cited here in the Pelican edition, 1967.

^{2.} ibid., p. 29.

^{3. &}lt;u>ibid.</u>, p. 62.

^{4.} ibid., p. 74.

the accidental or unconscious revolution in Western capitalist society. Much of what he says could be documented equally well, however, wherever the technological revolution without revolutionaries has reshaped and accelerated societies, without a concommitant creative effort to discover and exemplify a new vision of man appropriate to the future.

This aesthetic task can be described as pre-ethical: it is a quest for a vision from which the ethics of the future will draw their power. The problematicity of all systems and value structures in the world today is symptomatic of a universal loss of certainty about the old images of man. Under the impact of his technologies, man has stubbornly refused to behave as yesterday's ideologies said he should, and to the extent that Christian antropologies have shared the assumptions of their ideological environments, they too have proven inadequate. The crisis runs deeper than a relatively simple incapacity of ethical maxims to keep pace with a fast-breaking, highly volatile and mobile world society. Contextual or situation ethics can introduce a certain flexibility that is essential to the survival of responsibility, but by itself it can provide only first aid to stop the bleeding. Healing and wholeness will come only from apprehensions and incarnations of credible visions of humanness. The crisis is a loss of future, not past, a loss of any sense either of "a City of God or of man in the middle or long distance", a loss of "utopia to come rather (the) golden age that was ... the present decadence is the corruption of a dream rather than of a reality". 5

A related dimension of the crisis appears in the paradox that technology and research are providing more and more detailed knowledge and control over partial segments of life, while we sense a growing helplessness and inability to comprehend, let alone control, its totality. The abstract values, which used to provide a useful, even essential simplification of issues into manageable choices, seem less and less relevant to more and more people. The international revolutionary student movement, for example, refuses to buy the choices - "freedom" or "collectivization", "capitalism" or "socialism", "democracy" or "totalitarianism" that those values used to offer in very simple terms. It seems now to be somehow not so simple, after all. One can form quite firm judgments about a limited segment of society - in matters of university reform, for example - but the realization of a program to put them into effect leads very quickly into the jungle of dark forces which tie the university into the complex structures of economic and political power, and which are almost impossible to fathom or influence.

^{5. &}lt;u>ibid.</u>, p. 14.

Here we return to the pragmatic necessity for prophetic styles. The prophet, in the Bible, is a simplifier. He discovers precisely the great catchwords which reduce the complexities of society to primal human choices between the kinds of future men will construct or be doomed to: choose life, or choose death; choose to live by hope, or live in decadence and despair. The prophet's vision is a vision of the whole because it is a vision of the future; insofar as he is a politician or a sociologist, it is as a politician or sociologist of hope that he condemns and harangues and nags at the present state of things.

But prophets have always been few and unloved. It is a vocation that cannot be sought, only accepted when circumstances elect a man to that lonely vision as they elected Martin Luther King in Montgomery. The prophetic style or role is for the most part a matter of improvisation of what has to be done, drawing on resources of conviction, discipline and sensitivity which are lodged unshakeably in the well-springs of a unique human spirit.

The quest is not for a single Christian style of life today, I think. Max Weber has shown how a single style, the intramundane asceticism of the Protestant ethic, once provided a dynamic which formed a large bloc of Western civilization. Something similar may eventually happen on a world scale. But to expect or work for that now would surely be premature. The global village demands and permits a wide range of local diversity in apprehending the future. C. Wright Mills' warning to a Latin American audience in 1960 is especially pertinent to Christians concerned about styles of life. "The problem of the underdeveloped society", he wrote, "is to achieve a higher material development of a sort that avoids the sadfeatures of the overdeveloped society, and hence makes possible a variety of human beings of styles of life, perhaps never before seen in human history". 6 A Christian style of life cannot be sketched in neat principles by any world ecumenical assembly, because style can take shape only in improvisation and interaction with a particular sociological and political background environment. A painter can make a picture only when he has real oils and canvas and brushes to work with. The most that can happen at Uppsala is that style of life artisans can be given a green light, perhaps even encouragement by a few examples, and told: You're on your own. You have a world to live in and resources of Christian insight and experience to draw upon. You have a community of brethren who have confidence in you. Go to it.

Once that has been said, however, it can be added that there are specific factors which may add something to what has already been said about the search for life-styles.

^{6.} I.L. Horowitz, ed., <u>Power, Politics & People, The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills, Oxford University Press, New York, 1963, p. 156.</u>

- 1. The universal horizon. Wherever Christians and other people undertake living as credible human beings in the last third of the 20th century, they do so in a world moving willy-nilly toward an ominous future. The faces of that future are clear enough: the "development apocalypse" (Stephen C. Rose) of mass starvation, unless something radical happens to effect redistribution of the world's wealth from the rich and thinly-populated North to the poor and populous South; globe-girdling urban sprawl, with almost the total world population living in "ecumenopolis" (C. A. Doxiadis) which, if urbanization continues along present patterns, will resemble a vast Los Angeles: over-population. These are the universal futures which form the background of every systematic attempt to act out humanity; they define the horizon of human solidarity, the rim of our common soup bowl.
- 2. The vision of the Kingdom. The biblical correlate to extrapolated multiplex apocalypse is the vision of the Kingdom of God in the preaching of Jesus. Jürgen Moltmann, Wolfhart Pannenberg and others have rediscovered the role of the Kingdom in its original apocalyptic context as a key to unlock latent reservoirs of hope and political imagination which have seldom been tapped since the New Testament period, in thinking about the shape of an identifiably Christian life. "All things new" belongs, with the whole book of Revelation, to this complex of imaginative Christian expectation. Any viable Christian style of living in this apocalyptic age will probably take its cues, in one way or another, from the Kingdom vision.
- 3. Parable-makers. It is significant that Jesus used the metaphoric form of the parable to preach the Kingdom. Parables are a highly visual way of using words: the Kingdom is like a mustard seed, or a thief in the night, or a city set on a hill. Nowhere does Jesus say what the Kingdom is, only the many things that it is like. In one place Mark says that Jesus spoke to the crowds in parables, but "privately to his own disciples he explained everything" (Mk. 4:34). As parable-makers, we might be helped by this suggestion that we owe the world fewer explanations, and more plastic, concrete, enigmatic, lived, visible examples of how it is, this world which is also moving toward apocalypse Kingdom. Styles of life are provisional parabolic incarnations of hope indirectly reflected.
- 4. Wise men. When Jesus told his disciples to be wiser than serpents and harmless as doves, he took up and legitimated a strand of Old Testament thinking which can come into its own once again in the quest for styles of life: the wisdom tradition of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Wisdom of Jesus Sirach. That is, he made a definite place in Christian reflection for practical, even pragmatically cool and calculating empirical observation of the nuances

of better and worse in human existence. This sort of wisdom requires maintenance of a certain distance between one's self and one's world, a dispassionate objectivity which has a great deal in common with the artist's disciplined vision. It need not exclude passion and commitment, any more than Picasso's discipline quenched the cold fire of <u>Guernica</u>, but it is essential if passion is not to be debased into formless romanticism and the paternalistic self-gratification of slipping crumbs to the poor.

5. Fragments of the future. A life with style and enough power to make human existence credible seems likely to be broken off unfinished, as Martin Luther King's murder reminds us once again. Ernst Bloch ties this by no means accidental dimension of a style of living into the whole point we have tried to make, when he speaks of

the pathos of way and process, the eschatological conscience that entered the world by way of the Bible, Totality in the religion of the Exodus and the Kingdom is exclusively a totally transforming and explosive, a utopian totality; in the face of this totality our knowledge, but more, everything that has emerged to which our conscience refers, appears as piecework. Piece-work, an objective fragment, precisely in the most productive sense, not just as creaturely limitation or even resignation. "Behold, I make all things new", in the sense of the apocalyptic explosion, is written over it and influences all great art with the spirit after which Durer namedhis Gothic construction, Apocalypsis cum figuris. Man is still unfinished, the course of the world is still undetermined, still open, and so the depth in every aesthetic information is: this utopia is the paradox in aesthetic immanence, its own most fundamentally immanent paradox. Without this potential for fragments, aesthetic phantasy would have enough in the world to work with, more than any other human apperception, but it would finally have no correlate. For the world itself, just as it is in a bad way, is also in an unfinished state and in a process of experimentation out of its desperate condition. 7

^{7.} E. Bloch, <u>Das Prinzip Hoffnung</u>, Bd. 1, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt, 1959, pp. 254f. (author's translation)

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